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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 IO-11 /075 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7208

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

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SHAPE FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP, PO, IT, FR

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN
EUROPE

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MUCH HERALDED CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE TURNED OUT TO BE A RATHER DEFENSIVE OPERATION: SELF-CONSCIOUS OVER THE SHARP CRITICISMS VOICED AGAINST MITTERRAND AT HELSINGOR FOR FOSTERING A NORTH-SOUTH SPLIT OVER THE ISSUE OF ALLIANCES WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES; SENSITIVE TO THE ABSENCE OF MARIO SOARES, WHICH ONLY THINLY DISGUISED THE CURRENT PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST AVERSION TO CP ALLIANCE; ANXIOUS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT MITTERRAND'S COMMON PROGRAM APPROACH WAS NOT AUTOMATICALLY APPLICABLE I.E., IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN; AND YET CONCERNED NOT TO EMBARRASS MITTERRAND HIMSELF, THE MOST EMINENT LEADER PRESENT. EMBARRASSED HE NEVERTHELESS WAS BY THE INSERTION OF A POINTED REFERENCE TO THE CIA IN ONE OF THE FINAL TEXTS, SINCE ONLY THE PORTUGUESE ARGUED, AT LEAST IN THE PUBLIC SESSIONS, FOR BALANCING THIS WITH A REFERENCE TO THE KGB. EVEN SO THE CONFERENCE WAS NOT A DOMESTIC SETBACK FOR MITTERRAND WHO EMERGED WITH STATESMAN'S IMAGE INTACT -- ALTHOUGH IT MADE CLEARER THAN IT WAS BEFORE THAT THE PROSPECT OF A TIDE OF COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST COALITIONS IS NOT YET IMMINENT IN SOUTHERN EUROPE, EXCEPT IN FRANCE AND CONCEIVABLY IN ITALY. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE CONVENED IN PARIS JANUARY 24-25. THE REPRESENTATION WAS ODD IN THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY, THE PARTICIPANTS ALSO INCLUDED LUXEMBOURG AND BELGIUM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GREEK PASOK DID NOT PARTICIPATE, EVEN THOUGH ANDREAS PAPANDREOU ATTENDED AND INDEED CONTRIBUTED A SHORT POINTED ANTI-AMERICAN COMMENT FROM THE FLOOR. (A MOROCCAN SOCIALIST TOO INTERVENED TO ARGUE FOR BROADENING THE CONCEPT OF SOUTHERN EUROPE TO INCLUDE

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NORTH AFRICA.)

3. THERE WAS ALSO UNEVENNESS IN THE LEVEL OF THE REPRESENTATIVES. MOST COMMENTED ON WAS THE ABSENCE OF MARIO SOARES, WHOSE CONCURRENT TRIP TO THE US WAS CONSIDERED BY MANY PRESS ANALYSTS AS A FIGLEAF TO AVOID PARTICIPATING AT A LATER DATE -- WHEN HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO TELL MITTERRAND IN PERSON WHAT HIS DELEGATION SAID

WITH CRYSTAL CLARITY, I.E., THAT AFTER THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER 25, THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS HAD NO INTENTION WHATEVER OF ENTERING INTO ANY NEW PROGRAM WITH THE PCP. EVEN SO, SOARES SENT A MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE STRESSING ITS "GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE COORDINATION OF SOCIALIST STRATEGIES FOR SOUTHERN EUROPE." AS FOR THE REST ONLY THE SPANISH PARTY SENT ITS HEAD, GONZALES. THE PSI WAS REPRESENTED BY MARIO ZAGARI AND GIOLITTI. THE REST SENT DELEGATIONS AT SIMILAR LEVEL.

4. THE KEY THEMES BECAME CLEAR IN THE OPENING STATEMENTS. THUS MITTERRAND DOWN-PLAYED THE IMPORTANCE THE PRESS HAS ATTACHED TO SOARES' ABSENCE, AS WELL AS THE CONTINUING SPECULATION AFTER HELSINGOR OF A NORTH-SOUTH

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SPLIT IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. CONVERSELY, HE STRESSED THE EVOLUTION OF THE PCF; BUT FORESHADOWED THE DISTINCTIONS ABOUT TO EMERGE, BY STRESSING THAT THE POSITION OF EACH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES REPRESENTED WAS QUITE DIFFERENT WITH RESPECT TO THEIR OWN PC'S.

5. THIS OF COURSE BECAME THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE SUBSEQUENT SPEECHES, IN WHICH THE PORTUGUESE AND TO AN EXTENT ALSO THE SPANISH DELEGATES MADE CLEAR THAT COMMON PROGRAMS AND EVEN ALLIANCES ON MITTERRAND'S MODEL WERE NOT IN THE CARDS FOR THEM, AT LEAST FOR SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME. SPAIN'S GONZALES MADE THE POINT BY STRESSING REPEATEDLY THAT THE PSE WILL JOIN WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES TO ACHIEVE THE "DEMOCRATIC BREAKTHROUGH" IN SPAIN; THAT THE FORCES OF THE RIGHT ARE STILL VERY STRONG ALTHOUGH ALSO DIVIDED; THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE WILL THEREFORE TAKE A LONG TIME; AND THAT, FOR THE PRESENT, THERE IS "NO QUESTION" IN SPAIN OF A COMMON PROGRAM, WHICH IS "INSTITUTIONALLY IMPOSSIBLE."

6. THE PORTUGUESE PREDICTABLY WEIGHED IN EVEN MORE BLUNTLY WITH REPEATED REFERENCES TO THE "STALINIST MODEL" FOLLOWED BY THE PCP, TO "PRAGUE", AND TO THE CRITICAL CHOICE PORTUGAL HAS MADE BETWEEN ITS "SOCIALISM WHICH GUARANTEES DEMOCRACY" AND THE "FORCES OF TOTALITARIANISM." THE ITALIANS, WHOSE LEADERSHIP WAS CONCURRENTLY FACING MORO'S OFFER OF A NEW COALITION, WERE PERHAPS IN THE MOST AWKWARD SITUATION TO WHICH ZAGARI DID FULL JUSTICE BY SPENDING TWENTY MINUTES SAYING

VIRTUALLY NOTHING. THE BELGIANS FAVORED MITTERRAND'S APPROACH, BUT ADMITTED THEIR COMMUNISTS WERE WEAK AND DIVIDED. THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LADY FROM LUXEMBOURG ARGUED VIGOROUSLY IN THE OPPOSITE SENSE, BUT OFFERED LUXEMBOURG AS A "PLATFORM" ON WHICH THE "DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIALISTS OF NORTH AND SOUTH" CAN BE DISCUSSED. MITTERRAND COMMENTED THAT HE PLANNED SHORTLY TO SEE WILLY BRANDT.

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7. ALTHOUGH WE WERE NOT ABLE TO ATTEND WORKING GROUP SESSIONS, THE FLAVOR CAME THROUGH CLEARLY IN THE COMMITTEE REPORTS, WHICH IN THE CONTEXT OF FOUR THEMES (SOUTHERN EUROPE IN WORLD POLITICS; WHAT TO DO IN FACE OF WORLD CAPITALIST CRISIS; REINFORCING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY THROUGH SOCIALISM; AND COORDINATION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT FORCES OF THE LEFT IN EUROPE) ATTENUATED BUT DID NOT MANAGE TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH HIGHLIGHTED IN THE OPENING STATEMENTS.

8. MOST SURPRISING WAS THE FACT THAT THE MOST EMOTIONAL EXCHANGES OF THE CONFERENCE OCCURRED OVER THE QUESTION WHETHER THE CIA SHOULD BE SINGLED OUT BY NAME AS WORTHY OF BEING LISTED, ALONG WITH IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND OTHER FORCES OF EVIL AS THE CONFERENCES' FIRST WORKING GROUP APPARENTLY SUGGESTED. AT FIRST ZAGARI, THE RAPPORTEUR TRIED TO SLUR OVER THE CIA. HE WAS CALLED TO ORDER BY GASTON DEFFERRE, DEPUTY/MAYOR OF MARSEILLES AND DIDIER MONTCHANE WHO, WITH WIDESPREAD SUPPORT, RESISTED ATTEMPTS TO REFER TO INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN GENERAL OR TO BALANCE THINGS WITH A CONCURRENT REFERENCE TO THE KGB. ONLY THE PORTUGUESE VIGOROUSLY AND ARTICULATELY SPOKE UP AGAINST SINGLING OUT THE CIA, AND REFERRED BLUNTLY TO THEIR OWN EXPERIENCES WITH SOVIET SERVICES. MITTERRAND THEN INTERVENED, SAID THE SITUATION WAS "EMBARRASSING" AND PRESENTED A COMPROMISE FORMULA CONDEMNING "INTERFERENCE BY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, ACTIONS SUCH AS HAVE BEEN UNDERSCORED BY THE RECENT INVESTIGATION IN THE UNITED STATES." THIS ATTEMPT AT SLIGHTLY IMPROVING AN UNBALANCED REFERENCE WAS APPROVED WITH LOUD APPLAUSE. THE ONLY OTHER INTERVENTION OF IMPORTANCE WAS MADE BY THE SPANISH PARTY WHICH ARGUED THAT THE US BASE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY POPULAR VOTE. THE TEXTS OF THE FOUR REPORTS WILL BE AIR POUCHED.

9. FOR MITTERRAND AND THE FRENCH PARTY THE CONFERENCE WAS AN AMBIGUOUS EVENT. ON THE ONE HAND MITTERRAND CLEARLY MANAGED TO DOMINATE THE CONFERENCE. HE SUCCEEDED EASILY FOR INSTANCE IN OBTAINING AGREEMENT TO A CHANGE

IN A COMMITTEE REPORT WHICH WOULD HAVE QUESTIONED THE
ADVISABILITY OF GAINING POWER BY A BARE MAJORITY OF 5L
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WITHOUT ADEQUATE MARGINS OF POPULAR SUPPORT TO EXERCISE
IT. MITTERRAND ALSO MANAGED TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION
THAT APART FROM THE SPECIFIC ISSUE OF ALLIANCES WITH CPS

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IN SOUTHERN EUROPE THERE WAS A CERTAIN COHERENCE TO SOUTHERN EUROPE SOCIALIST VIEWS. HE ALSO AVOIDED FURTHER AGGRAVATING NORTH-SOUTH TENSIONS AMONG EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS. ON THE OTHER HAND THE MEETING ADJOURNED WITH ONLY VAGUE REFERENCES TO FUTURE ENCOUNTERS OF THIS SORT - APART FROM A MEETING OF HEADS OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN PARTIES IN THE CONTEXT OF A EUROPEAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN GENEVA THIS SUMMER. CLEARLY THE LACK OF UNITY OF TACTICAL ALLIANCES WITH COMMUNISTS AND THE FEAR OF FURTHER IRRITATING SCHMIDT AND OTHER IMPORTANT NORTHERN SOCIALISTS DAMPENED WHAT ENTHUSIASM THERE MAY HAVE BEEN FOR FURTHER INSTITUTIONALIZING THE SOUTHERN SOCIALIST GROUP -- AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT.

10. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF FOLLOWING CLOTURE OF THE CONFERENCE, MITTERRAND, REFERRING TO THE CIA ISSUE NOTED THAT "EVEN GOD SOMETIMES FINDS IT NECESSARY TO DO THINGS IN HIS PUBLIC CAPACITY WHICH HE LATER REGRETS IN HIS PRIVATE ONE." MITTERRAND SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT THE COMMENT BE REPORTED TO THE SECRETARY. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD FOUND THE CIA MOTION EMBARRASSING AND THAT HE HAD HOPED TO BE ABLE TO "END THE CONFERENCE WITHOUT HANGING THAT PARTICULAR ALBATROSS AROUND ITS NECK."
GAMMON

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